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ADDRESS OF REV. THOMAS HILL, D. D.,*
PRESIDENT OF HARVARD COLLEGE.

I count myself fortunate, members and friends of the American Colonization Society, in the opportunity of addressing you at this opening of your second half century of usefulness. When an individual man enters on his second half century he usually counts himself to have attained his highest measure of efficiency. Not so with an organization like this. Great as has been the work of the past fifty years, it is probably nothing in comparison with what shall be accomplished in the fifty years to come.

I do not undervalue the work of the fifty years just past, unless it be from mere inability to conceive its greatness. Who can measure the effects already produced? About fourteen thousand persons have been sent from America as colonists to Liberia, and six thousand recaptured slaves have been added by the Government of the United States. These colonists have brought about an equal number of heathen to a full participation in the blessings of Christian faith and of republican government, and have acquired partial sway and dominion over twenty times that number with beneficent effect. The new nation thus created has shown its sturdiness and vigor by successfully defending itself against the attacks of hostile savages in war. It has also shown its industry and diligence in the arts of peace. It has delivered a vast extent of coast from the curse of the slave trade; and has won recognition and respect from the leading nations of the earth. Surely the establishment of such a Republic is a great work to have been accomplished by the efforts of a voluntary association in fifty years.

The second half century is opening favorably for the cause. The members of the Society may well thank God and take courage. The full effect of that mighty change which has set free the African population of this country cannot yet be even

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predicted; but this one thing is certain, that the Colonization Society can no longer be accused of rendering slavery more secure. Our claims can now be judged fairly upon their own merits. The lurid glare of that dark cloud which so long hung over the United States no longer blinds the eyes of those who would examine the question of African colonization and judge of the greatness of the work which we have undertaken.

As I think of the magnitude of this work, and of the greatness of the issues which may arise from this transplantation of American civilization and politics, and the Christian faith, into the Continent of Africa, I feel deeply sensible of my own inability to give an adequate discussion of any part of the subject. I find myself chiefly drawn to a consideration of the simple fundamental principles which explain the cause of the success or failure of colonization schemes—which show why some colonies perish with the original colonists and others grow into independent and flourishing States.

Let us endeavor to unfold one or two of these principles and see what auguries we may draw thence for the future of the Republic of Liberia.

The first impulse, in the settling of a colony, has usually been the desire of trade—of foreign commerce. This led to the planting of the colonies of ancient times; and this led to the more extensive colonization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The native products of the virgin soil, mineral or vegetable, are coveted, and are procured in exchange for the finished products of the mother country. When this instinctive desire, which leads to the settlement of a new country, is left to its free and natural action it acts beneficially, and soon gives way to the normal infinitude of human wishes. The colonists cease to make trade with the mother country the prominent and absorbing end of their activities; they begin to supply each other's needs, and in intercourse with each other develop each other's faculties, and call out each other's manhood. But when the cupidity of the mother country endeavors to restrain the colonists from any other occupation than gathering up the raw material of the new country and exchanging it for the finished products of the old, then mischief begins. Man cannot be restrained and circumscribed in his action without becoming crippled and dwarfed in his powers. The colony which is compelled by legislative or other restraints to confine itself thus to one kind of trade or employment must become impoverished and finally perish. The first necessity for social order and social progress in any community is freedom—perfect freedom—of trade and commerce; perfect liberty in giving mutual assistance; liberty in co-operating for common ends; liberty in the exchange of labor and of the fruits of labor.

Would you be convinced of the reality of this necessity you have only to glance at the history of English colonies and of English provinces. Ireland once contained a happy and prosperous people, who had brought sundry branches of manufacture to the highest perfection. Forced by English legislation and institutions to limited lines of action, the Irish people have become so impoverished as to fly by millions to other lands, to escape famine and fevers in their own.

The history of India can be told in almost the same words. That terribly oppressed peninsula once contained a happy, prosperous, wealthy population, carrying many manufactures to an unexampled degree of success. English merchants gained immense wealth by trading there, and by the aid of the English Parliament, and the English army and navy, compelled the natives to depend upon foreign trade, and principally English trade. They have thus killed the goose that laid the golden eggs. No man brings home an immense fortune from trade with India now. The whole country has been drained, its manufactures destroyed, its people reduced to a lower level than that of English operatives themselves, and thousands are perishing for want of food.

Our mother country has always endeavored to keep her colonies on these Western Atlantic shores confined as much as possible to the same fatal course of making trade with Europe the chief end of life; happily with but partial success. As far, however, as she did succeed, she succeeded in bringing upon us poverty and woe. Our legislation, especially upon the question of a protective tariff, has fluctuated—many generous and clear-headed men have been deceived, and have thought protective duties were a fetter upon commerce, not perceiving that in the existing state of other nations they are only protections of freedom—our legislation has fluctuated, and with it our prosperity. When home manufactures have been protected, we have steadily moved forward toward prosperity and political purity and freedom. When the protection has been removed, and foreign trade thus unnaturally fostered, we have had fluctuating prices, financial crises, political corruption, the strengthening of slavery, and suffering among all laborers.

Unfortunately for us, as we import much of our literature and many of our ideas from England, and lean a great deal upon English opinions, we endeavor to explain our success or our reverses on entirely false principles. The aristocratic forms of English society, and the persistent working of her legislators in one direction for so many generations, have rendered it almost impossible for an Englishman of the present day to understand political economy, although in the earlier sages of the science English writers were its brightest lights.

This inability is shown in the prevalence, even now, among English thinkers, of the doctrine of overpopulation, and the ascription of the prosperity of America to her abundant room to expand. The absurdity of these views is shown by the comparison of the various States of Europe with each other, and with other communities in the world. This comparison will show that a most densely populated country, like Belgium, may be happy and prosperous; a sparsely inhabited one, like Ireland, miserable.

As I was reading last evening the remarks of our distinguished naturalist, Agassiz, upon Brazil, I was struck by a fact which he mentions: that the dwellers in the valley of the Amazon, with boundless pastures suited for sheep and oxen, and on the banks of rivers inexhaustible as the ocean in the abundance and variety of their delicious fish, suffer with hunger, and appease its pangs by eating salt codfish from the North Atlantic—to such destitution are the inhabitants of the richest valley in the world reduced by the attempt to live on trading, exchanging the natural productions of the soil for manufactured articles of foreign nations. How could any doctrine of overpopulation possibly be applied to that part of the Empire of Brazil? Yet this doctrine of overpopulation affects not only the political economy and legislation of England, but even infects her science, and has given form to her theories of the natural selection of species.

The American Colonization Society had the good sense, twenty years ago, to put the government of its colony entirely in the hands of the colonists, and to this measure is the present prosperity of Liberia pre-eminently due. We should never forget, however, and the people of that Republic should never forget, the circumstances which led the Society to remove itself finally from all interference with the government of the colony or control over it—that it arose from a deliberate attempt, on the part of English merchants, supported for a time by the English Government, to force a foreign trade upon the people of Liberia in disregard of the customs regulations made by the Commonwealth.

The Liberians resisted the attempt, and resisted it successfully; but the danger from that quarter has not yet past; the whole force of English opinion will be brought to bear upon them to induce them to foster foreign trade, to induce them to confine their domestic industry to agricultural operations, and to the gathering of native products, while they depend upon English factories and workshops for all their clothing and cutlery. The Liberians themselves will be tempted by the apparent cheapness of foreign manufactured articles, and the ease of agricultural work, to yield to English persuasion and

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allow the free admission of foreign goods. If they yield to this temptation, ruin must follow. It cannot be, while the structure of English society is so false, and freedom of trade in land and labor is so restricted in Great Britain itself—it cannot be that the free admission of English goods into Liberia can be aught else than ruinous, tending to drag the inhabitants of Liberia down to a level with the English operative.

But I augur from sundry indications a better destiny for that Republic, and trust the time will soon come when we shall see a variety of occupations introduced among the Liberians, and the growth of the useful arts and manufactures wisely fostered, until Liberia shall produce in herself, by the labor of her own citizens, all that her climate and natural productions and the native capacities of her citizens render it possible for her to furnish.

There is sufficient natural diversity in the fruits of various climates in the world to insure a certain amount of foreign trade. Tin must come from Cornwall, tea from China, ice from the north, oranges and figs from the south. This natural amount of foreign trade is of course highly beneficial; God has provided these diversities for wise ends. But when we carry in our ships coals to Newcastle, or fish to the Amazon, there must be something wrong in our trade; it is a waste of human power. When a colony sends raw material to the mother country to be manufactured and brought back in a finished state, the whole transportation is a pure waste of power, which might be saved by establishing the manufactories in the colony; and men are lured into this enormous waste by the fallacy of judging of a bargain by price alone. The only just method of judging whether it is better for the consumers of finished products to have home manufactures protected is to ask whether that protection will not increase the price of the consumer's products more than it raises the price of the articles he consumes.

Every laborer in a country is a benefit to the whole population of the country. Civilized society is a system of mutual co-operation, by which each man helps his neighbor; and the mode in which this mutual service is rendered is by purchase and sale. The more densely populated the country, the more neighbors I have who are working for me, preparing the articles I need; and the more diversified the occupation of the people about me, the more likely it is that every want and wish of my life shall be gratified.

It may, therefore, not be desirable for the United States to send the freedmen from the country; we need their labor here. Yet there will naturally be a certain percentage of them who will long to go to Africa. Even were our country prosper-

ous, even were it easy for the freedmen to find work here at good wages, many of them would remember that Africa is the land of their forefathers, yet that it is a new country; that its climate is suited to the negro, and unsuited to the white man; that in Liberia the negro is the ruling race; and that white men are disfranchised. Many of them, remembering these things, would have a desire to go thither, even were the United States in the most flourishing condition; much more will they desire to go when they see that our legislation is still fluctuating, our prosperity checkered, that the white man is still full of injustice and prejudice towards the colored man, and the way of ascent and progress for the negro is still difficult in America.

A certain number of freedmen will, therefore, be desirous of going to Liberia, and the percentage which can be aided in their emigration by this Society will be too small to affect seriously the strength and resources of the United States. But to Liberia it is a very different thing. One thousand emigrants a year will not be a serious drain upon this country; but one thousand emigrants a year will be a great gain to the sister Republic. To us it would be a loss of the three-hundredth part of one per cent., to them a gain of seven per cent. of their population. It would, therefore, in the end be a gain even to us. The foreign trade of Liberia is but small, (one-quarter of a million per annum,) but it will increase with her growing wealth; and if it be a natural and unforced trade, it is a benefit to both parties. Thus, in the natural course of events, we should reap finally large pecuniary returns to our country for the colonization of Liberia. Whatever is for the real interest of any one human being is ultimately for the interest of all; antagonism of interests is only transient, and usually only seeming, while the unity of interests is real and eternal. The errors of political economy have largely arisen from the assumption that the interests of buyers and sellers, of producers and consumers, of labor and capital, are, or can be antagonistic. This is indeed itself a great error, as well as the prolific parent of many others. All true commerce is for the mutual advantage of both parties; if we can demonstrate that it is for the real, permanent benefit of one, then it is for the benefit of the other also; and if we can demonstrate that it is to the injury of one, then it cannot be to the real advantage of the other. In other words, the profits of injustice and wrong are delusive. The periods of greatest apparent prosperity arising from a foreign trade carried on to the disadvantage of the colonies or less civilized partners in the trade, have always been followed by bankruptcy and ruin in the apparently prosperous country, and the magnificence of the princes has proved but empty gilding.

It was thus with the age of Pericles, and with the age of

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Louis the Fourteenth; it was thus in our own land, most notably in 1837, but also whenever the legislation of the country has fostered for a time foreign trade to the injury of home production. Liberia will be really valuable to us and to Europe as a market wherein to buy and sell, just in proportion as she most fully develops her own resources, and in particular as she develops her main resource, the industry and skill of her people. If she remains a simple agricultural nation, exporting palm-oil and coffee and cotton and dye-woods; importing her soap and cloths and works of mechanical ingenuity, then she must grow poorer, and the trade with her, remunerative at first, will presently become worthless. But if she fosters and develops the manhood of her own people, encouraging their manufacturing and inventive skill, and teaching them to supply themselves with whatever can possibly be manufactured by their own hands, then she will grow more and more wealthy, as well as more powerful, and trade with her will assume more and more importance. The more perfectly and evenly distributed in any country are the various workmen and manufactories which supply the wants of the people, the more able will that people be to import from abroad the articles which, from natural or artificial causes, cannot be produced among themselves.

The Colonization Society, therefore, in aiding the settlement and civilization of the young Republic of Liberia, are doing a work which shall bless not only the freedmen of the United States and the freemen of Africa, but all those nations which shall in the limitless future hold commercial and social intercourse with the nation which this Society has founded.

ADDRESS OF HON. F. T. PRELINGHUYSEN,*

SENATOR FROM NEW JERSEY.

Mr. President: I am requested to follow with a few remarks the interesting address to which we have listened. I think, sir, no reflecting man can look at the past history of the African race, and at the movements now transpiring, and not believe that God is about doing some great thing for that people.

That vast expanse between the tropics has for centuries been shut out from the benign influences, resulting from the intercourse of nations, which have renovated the other portions of the world. The Caucasian, when led by enterprise and the hope of honest gain to stand under its vertical sun, has paid a life-forfeit for his temerity. The man of God, with the love of souls in his heart and the gospel in his hand, has, on reaching its pestiferous shores, as a reward to his self-sacrificing pur-

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pose, been soon called to a more genial clime; while the Church has thus been advised that it is not so that Africa is to be redeemed.

The intercourse of civilization with this region has deepened its degradation. The heartless cupidity that would traffic in men, enlisting the barbarity there existing as its agent, has for ages, through the slave trade, added the most extreme human wretchedness to their otherwise deplorable condition. And, as we have looked upon the swarthy children of Africa here, in the isles of the sea, and on the southern continent of this hemisphere—poor, oppressed, and friendless—have we not said in our hearts, "God has forgotten them," "Heaven has forsaken them?" "It is true the promise is that the millennium shall come, but are they within the promise? It is true that Ethiopia shall stretch forth her hands unto God, but is it to be in hope, or in despair?" Have not some in their thoughtlessness, and others, to cover the wrong they have done, in defiance of the declaration of Heaven, that "God has made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell upon the face of the whole earth," said "the black man is not my brother," and thus logically shut him out from the parentage of God and from the benefits of the expiatory sufferings of Calvary? Sir, God has neither forgotten them, nor the sparrows that are sold two for a farthing.

God never makes haste. With the "I am" there is an eternal now. And during that, which to us is delay, all are under the omnipotent control of Him who is as merciful as just. We look at the barren fields and stripped trees, and wait for the coming harvest and fruitage, the edict having gone forth that, "seed time and harvest, summer and winter, shall not fail;" in the hidden processes of nature God sees that what He has spoken is already done. We beguile a weary hour by the prattle of a child, and wonder as to his future; God sees him, now the champion of the cross in a heathen land, from the platform swaying the multitude, or directing the councils of a nation. We live in the passing present, while the Disposer of events sees the end from the beginning. But even our limited vision can now begin to see the developments of providences hitherto inscrutable.

On the opposite shores of the far-extended Atlantic were planted two colonies, the one three centuries, and the other half a century, since. Each is a little speck on a continental expanse. Each, though scarce visible, contained the germ of a nation. The one, in three centuries, has so developed that to-day, with all its temporary embarrassments, it is the grandest, freest Christian nation of the world. The other, in half a century, under far less fostering care, has a growth greater

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than that of the former when at the same period of youth. During two centuries and a half the colony, and afterwards the nation, on this shore received and purchased as slaves the inhabitants of the continent beyond the sea. One of the first ships that sailed up the James river, in 1621, was freighted with African slaves. After that, for weary centuries, millions were hurried across the thirsty sands to the dismal barracoons on the seaboard, there to be imprisoned until, amid the untold tortures of the middle passage, they and their descendants were here introduced to perpetual slavery. The Constitution of this nation did not forbid this traffic, but did forbid that any law should be passed prohibiting it before 1808, and authorized an impost duty of ten dollars a head upon the trade. That same instrument, in a phraseology studied in order that the enormity of the provision might not be patent, did recognize this servitude. I do not say who for this was guilty; British avarice, northern cupidity, southern pride, are all responsible. But, sir, there it was, and no man could see how the nation was to be delivered from this wrong. Finally deliverance came; but it came by an anguish more fearful than that which overwhelmed the home of the Pharaohs when the Angel of Death waved his dark wing over that devoted land, for more than the first-born of every household North and South has been stricken. This deliverance having come, I think we can discern the Providence in the concurring events, that just when the colored man here has obtained the right and the ability to choose his own home, on yonder shore a Republic (having passed through the perils and vicissitudes of infancy, with its schools and college and churches, its residences and stores, its trade and commerce, its established representative government, and social elevation, its twelve thousand colored Americans and two hundred thousand natives) invites him to come and share its fortunes and enjoy its privileges.

Sir, permit me here to say, that no black man with my consent should ever leave this country without his intelligent desire to do so. I consider he has as good a right to live here as I have. His ancestors came from a foreign land, and so did mine. I have here my attachments, and so he may have his. Our boundless wealth and illimitable territory can accommodate me and mine, and it can accommodate him and his.

They have been subordinate to law, patient under suffering, and, from a certain gentleness of nature, they have been submissive under exactions which would have converted us into fiends. They have not been drones, living on the charity of their superiors. No! father and mother, and son and daughter have worked as no other people ever labored. Their toil has subdued the luxuriant soil and converted the morass into the

productive meadow. Independent of the productions of rice, corn, sugar, and tobacco, after earning their own bread and clothing, after enabling the white man to accumulate wealth and live in luxury, after enabling him to educate generation after generation his children, after supplying the cotton market of this country, they have by their labor supplied a quantity of the article last named for exportation amounting yearly to the average sum of a hundred and eighty millions in gold, and this when in slavery. This is a sum equal to two-thirds of the whole amount estimated to be requisite for the annual expenses of this nation, including the interest on our vast debt. The black man, in my opinion, has a right here to remain and enjoy the blessings and privileges of our free land. And further, if called upon to part company with him this year, the nation would suffer great financial embarrassments; for with only ninety millions of gold in the Treasury, what would be our condition if we were deprived of the one hundred and forty-four millions in gold which the exportation of cotton last year brought into the country? This, I admit, is a selfish view of the subject. I want the black man to have the right to stay or to go, as he pleases; and if his departure should create a vacuum of labor, it will be supplied. That civilization which travelled from the north of Africa to Greece and Rome, then over Europe, and so to America still moves west, and will bring us into intimate relations and intercourse with the multitudes of Asia. I think I can see how all labor vacuum in this country can be filled.

Sir, the black man has a right to stay here; so, too, the Celtic race of Great Britain have a right to remain in their native land; (I trust we shall never imitate the example of that boastfully philanthropic nation towards those whom their pride assumes to be an inferior race;) but I can see how each race may find benefit from having another land to which they may, if so they please, resort.

Things here may not be as they would have them and as I would have them. They may not be content with political equality. You or I would not be content with anything short of that social equality which no enactment can exact. Some, from the inspirations of a new freedom, may be animated by a pride that will be restive under even the suspicion that they are thought to be essentially the inferiors of the dominant race. These considerations may prompt many to seek a home in the fertile plains beyond the great waters. It may be that, having here for some years gathered the rewards of an industry which is no longer to be unrequited, they, as the immigrants here from Germany, may carry to Liberia a moneyed capital there much required, and, borrowing from a nation that

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has held them in bondage the golden jewel of Christianity and the silver jewel of education, they may carry there treasures that are priceless.

But, sir, the grand and overshadowing benefit arising from this nation being planted on the shores of Africa, is that it is the only feasible instrumentality for Christianizing the hundred millions there living and every generation there dying. The insatiate javelins of the pale rider who courses along that coast, bringing death to the white man on his errand of mercy, is comparatively powerless against the man who is born for the tropics. It is left to the man of swarthy skin to enjoy the honor, on earth and in heaven, of having, in that weary land, pointed to the shadow of the Great Rock. It is left for him, in those thirsty deserts, to cry, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters." It is left for him, in the land of the luxuriant palm, to scatter the leaves that are for the healing of the nation.

Who can estimate the value to the colored man here of the progress of the nation of Liberia? Their swarthy complexion ever marks them as members of a family different from ours. And if you can elevate that family, make its nationality respected, you honor them. Let the nation of Liberia extend its commerce, advance in learning and social refinement. Let her ships visit our harbors, and her merchants our markets. Let her men of science make discoveries, and her men of learning address us. Let her people exhibit social elegance as they make here their tours of pleasure and of business, and how greatly the weak and sinful prejudice against the tawny skin, which does exist, would be mitigated.

The Christianizing of a continent, teeming with undying life, is an object for philanthropy and charity second in sublimity only to the redemption of a world. And if the horizontal power (to borrow the expression of another) of our virtue, attracted by so grand a magnet, is not strong enough to reach to that object, it is because the vertical power of our religion, aided by all the allurements of Heaven, does not ascend to that living fountain from which we draw all that in us is worthy.

It is possible, I know, so to muffle the heart that not a single sympathy will vibrate in response to the cry of a hundred millions for knowledge, for civilization, and for eternal life. The prejudice that thus stupifies our charity is easily invoked. The greatest pride of an American is freedom, and we unconsciously look with disrespect on a complexion which, by our wrong, is associated with slavery. History, too, has lent itself to the promotion of this prejudice, by representing the inhabitants of Africa as a multitude of hideous, ignorant barbarians, leading lives of indolence and crime, while, in truth,

in many parts of that continent, they are men of fine physical development, following the pursuits of agriculture, working in iron, making cotton cloth and jewelry, and where they have come in contact with the Mohammedan, reading the Arabic. Empirics in philosophy, too, with all the assumption of science, have catered to this prejudice. They take the sable casket, out of which the jewel of immortality has been rescued, and laying it on the dissecting-table, measure the skull, weigh the brain, examine the teeth, saw the bones, try the articulations of the jaw, and express sapient doubts as to the grade in humanity of their subject. And thus these charlatans, while profaning the workmanship of God, illustrate their own inhumanity. Let them read the learned and eloquent vindication of the unity of the human race by the great Humboldt in his *Cosmos*, and learn at once their injustice and their ignorance. We also see that the perverted wit and satire of years has been taxed, and itinerant minstrels having gathered together ribald couplets and vulgar caricatures, travel the country, holding up to the amusement and ridicule of crowded audiences their fellow-men of sensibilities as keen, of fidelity as true, of moral traits as sterling, as we possess. "Whatever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." And on the streets of every town and city of this land you can see the graven image used as an advertisement of the product of the black man's industry. With slouched hat and tattered coat and arms a-kimbo, it stands, giving the first impression to children and confirming the bent and bias of the adult. Some there are who can never speak of the colored man without the adjective lazy, saucy, or other opprobrious qualification to a word now passed from genteel use.

It is by these and many such like influences that prejudice stupifies the soul as to the claims of Africa. But a better day now dawns, God has made bare His arm for its deliverance. The whispered supplication for his descendants of the venerable father, whose gray hair bears witness how many have been his years of disrespect and toil, has been heard. The cry of the sable mother from the pallet of straw has reached the ears of the God of Sabaoth. The children of Africa are free, and the stain of slavery will not linger! Their prowess on the field and their fidelity at their homes, during the recent struggle, have gained them respect with all. They, as if by inspiration, crave and acquire learning. As to their future political status, I forbear here to speak. Suffice it to say, their elevation here will greatly promote the welfare of their race across the Atlantic, and their advanced nationality there, honor them here. Is it not true, sir, that it seems as if God was about to do some great thing for Africa?

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ADDRESS OF REV. BENJAMIN LABAREE, D. D.,*

LATE PRESIDENT OF MIDDLEBURY COLLEGE, VT.

Mr. President: I do not rise to make a speech, for I should shrink from such an endeavor after having listened to the eloquent and able address of the gentleman who has just taken his seat; but I have been requested, should time permit this evening, to make a brief statement respecting one of the professors in the College at Liberia, who pursued his collegiate studies under my care a few years ago. I comply with the request the more readily because the case of Professor Freeman, aside from personal considerations, may illustrate the natural process through which the mind of many an intelligent negro has passed, or will pass, before coming to the conclusion that Liberia presents a most natural and desirable home for the colored man.

Young Freeman entered College with a strong desire for an education, but without any definite idea of the purpose to which it should be applied when acquired. He came with evident distrust of his own abilities, for he had had no opportunity to compare himself with that race which is so prone to disparage the natural talents of the African. He labored under the trembling apprehension, too, that he should receive from his fellow-students indications of displeasure at his presence, or of contempt for his race. All this was natural—the almost necessary result of the social and intellectual condition of colored men among us, and of the views entertained respecting them by a large portion of the community.

They need to be inspired with self-respect; it must, in some way, be revealed to their consciousness that they *are somebody*; that their manhood is not extinguished, only degraded; and that by suitable measures and exertions it can be elevated and burnished. College is an admirable place for this reconstruction of character. It gives a man credit for what he does; it allows him to pass for what he is really worth.

Freeman brought with him the habit of self-depreciation; and when this was manifested in some of his actions, he was reminded by his instructors that he had been admitted to the institution as a student in full standing, and that, so long as his deportment was correct and his progress in study satisfactory, the authorities of the College would regard him as entitled to all the rights and privileges that were allowed to other students. By the kind treatment of his teachers, and by the process of measuring himself in the class-room with his Anglo-Saxon associates, he gradually acquired confidence in himself. Then his deportment was so unexceptionable, and his success

* Delivered at the Fifty-First Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington, D. C., January 22, 1868.

in study so highly respectable, that he won the regards of all his fellow-students; and in no instance, I believe, was he molested in word or action during his whole collegiate course.

As the time for his graduation approached and arrangements were to be made for the public exercises of commencement, his classmates, with united voice, requested the faculty to give Freeman the honor of delivering the salutatory address in Latin. As his standing as a scholar entitled him to distinction, this request was very cheerfully complied with; but lest the public might suppose that he was required to speak in Latin because he could not speak well in English, an oration in that language was also assigned him; and both were performed to his credit, and to the satisfaction of his friends and instructors. This is probably the only instance in a New England College in which a colored man has been honored with the appointment of salutatorian on commencement day.

Having accomplished his education and acquired some confidence in himself, it became a question of great practical importance, and one in which the young graduate felt a deep personal interest, viz, in what pursuit shall he be employed. Most young men at this stage of their education devote themselves to one of the learned professions; but here is a sensitive, aspiring, well-educated youth, to whom those professions are virtually closed. Shall he, then, become a teacher? Whom shall he teach? He had learned in College that while his fellow-students were sought for and employed as instructors in winter schools, his services were never in demand. He had found, even, that some who were the declared friends of the colored man were not disposed to place their children under his instruction, however worthy or well qualified he might be.

Shall he devote himself to the elevation of the colored race, and employ his mental discipline and his acquisitions in toiling to instruct the negro? This seemed to be the only path of usefulness open to him, and he entered upon it with cheerful hope. But he soon found that many of those who came under his influence had but feeble desire for elevation. They had been so long depressed and degraded that aspirations for a higher social state had become almost extinct. He saw, too, that instead of elevating the masses around him to his own standard, he should gradually but certainly gravitate towards their level, unless he could be admitted to the society of his equals or superiors. Here came his trials. Custom and prejudice have barred the door of social life against him, even though his superior claims to intellectual and moral worth are admitted. Not only so, but men of low degree, indefinitely his inferiors in all respects, feel at liberty to insult him in the streets, sneer at him in public conveyances, degrade him to

the side table at hotels, and remind him by pameless annoyances that he bears upon him marks that neither education nor moral excellence, neither civility of language nor courtesy of manner, can ever remove.

By such treatment his keen sensibilities became deeply wounded, his heart depressed, and he sighed for emancipation from this social bondage. Early in life his mind, for want of correct information, had become strongly prejudiced against the Colonization Society. He thought he saw in it a purpose to deprive the black man of his natural and national rights, and to expatriate him to a distant and desolate wilderness. To his excited vision there seemed to be lurking under this outward pretence of pure benevolence another specimen of Anglo Saxon selfishness, which for its own advantage would sacrifice the dearest rights and interests of the colored man. But now circumstances induced him to reconsider this judgment of condemnation, and to examine candidly the character and claims of the Colonization Society. The result was a reversal of his former judgment, and the conclusion that for him and his posterity the native home of his ancestors presented hopes and attractions that neither America nor any other land could furnish. And who will say that his judgment in this particular was erroneous? Notice the elements out of which that opinion was formed.

There is on the West coast of Africa the young Republic of Liberia, composed of colored men exclusively—its President, its Legislature, its judiciary, its military officers, its diplomatic agents, all are men of color. There is a well-arranged system of education, embracing the several gradations, from the common school to the college, and all those instructors, from the college president to the district school-master, are men of color. Here, then, is a land where a colored face is a recommendation rather than an obstacle to one's advancement. Here men are estimated according to their true worth. Here the colored man has an admirable opportunity to develop his real character—to prove to the world that he has capacity for business, for education, for self-government, and for an elevated civilization. Here is the national flag of the African Republic waving over the capital, the forts, the shipping in the harbor, and commanding the respect of the nations of the earth.

Then there is a most productive soil, yielding to manual industry ample returns of tropical fruits, of cotton, of sugar, and other commodities which command a ready market in distant nations; and a wide field also is presented for the exercise of mechanical, manufacturing, and commercial industry.

Then, if a desire to be useful to his race animates the heart

of the colored man in this country, where can he find an opportunity more hopeful and inviting than the Republic of Liberia offers? The benign influence of that Government is felt for a thousand miles on the coast and for more than two hundred miles in the interior. "More than three hundred thousand aborigines reside within the territory of Liberia, and are brought more or less directly under the influence and control of her civilized institutions." Not hostile tribes seeking to annoy or to annihilate this new Christian Republic, but mostly Pagans, allied to it by compacts or treaties, and kindly disposed towards its citizens and its government. Never was there a more hopeful field to the Christian man of color for missionary enterprise.

Is it strange, then, that a colored man of reflection, of education, of refinement, with a strong desire to benefit his family and his race, and to escape from the embarrassments and disabilities under which he labored in this land, should deliberately determine that Liberia must be the home of himself and of his posterity?

And I congratulate your Society, Mr. President, on this valuable acquisition to the educational force in the College in Liberia. They could not have made a better choice. Professor Freeman is a gentleman and a scholar; his character and acquisitions would entitle him to a college professorship in this country. He is now in America on a brief visit. Strong temptations have been laid before him to induce him to abandon Africa and remain in this land. A large salary was offered him to take the direction of an important colored school, which he promptly declined. "Tell me, then," said the trustee of the school, "tell me what sum of money would be sufficient to persuade you to accept the office." "*Such a sum,*" promptly replied the Professor, "*as would induce you, sir, to take the social position of the negro in this country.*" The attempt to withdraw him from Liberia was abandoned.

I congratulate you, Mr. President, on the present favorable prospects of the Colonization Society. I now and then hear a word of discouragement, but to my view the future is full of hope. The dealings of Providence towards the colored race in this country are indeed mysterious. Into the depths of those solemn mysteries we will not attempt to penetrate. God is His own interpreter, and in His own way and time He will make them plain. But our duty is to be governed by what we can see and understand.

What are the facts now before us? More than two thousand colored persons of the South are presenting their urgent requests to be settled in Liberia. The government of that Republic are anxious to receive accessions to their population

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from this country. Houses of reception, fertile lands for cultivation, await the emigrants. This Society has a substantial ship ready, at suitable times, to take them to their African home. What, then, is wanting? Nothing but money to pay the expenses of their passage across the water and to support them a few months, during the process of acclimation.

Let these facts be spread widely through the country; let the philanthropist and the Christian be informed that a large number of colored people have made application for passage to Liberia, and are now waiting the response of this Society to determine whether they may go, or whether they must remain, and I cannot doubt that funds will be speedily furnished, and these anxious people will be cheered by this answer from your Society: "Make yourselves ready, and we will send you to the Republic of Liberia."

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN H. B. LATROBE.*

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It had not been the purpose of the Chair to make any remarks this evening; and, certainly, it is not to supply any deficiency of eloquence or argument that it is deemed proper, perhaps, to say a few words in connection with the topics that have been already so fully and so admirably discussed.

Some doubt has been expressed in regard to the temper of those in charge of the Society's affairs—some apprehension that there exists among them a feeling of discouragement. Never was there a greater mistake. The Directors of the American Colonization Society, now assembled in Washington, the Executive Committee, which directs the operations of the Society during the recess of the Board of Directors, the President of the Society, whose knowledge of it dates from its organization, were never in better heart than at present; never more thoroughly convinced of the wisdom of the scheme of African Colonization, and of its perfect adaptation to the circumstances of the times upon which we have fallen.

And why should it be otherwise, when there is at this time more than two thousand applicants for transportation to Liberia, a greater number than have ever before been on the rolls of the Society?—a number, not gathered together by its agents but furnished by the voluntary action of those who desire to make Africa their home.

If ever a prediction was falsified by the event, it has been the prediction that, with the general emancipation of the ne-

* Delivered at the Fifty-first Anniversary of the American Colonization Society, held at Washington, D. C., January 21, 1868.

gro, colonization would become extinct; and that Liberia, in place of being a success, would be a lamentable failure, dwindling from a negro Republic on the coast of Africa to a missionary station, to be maintained by pious contributions. The experience, recorded in the Report which has been read this evening, proves the contrary. Would that our purses were as full as our hearts are in this connection. During the uncertainties of the late unhappy contest emigration ebbed, and few and far between were the expeditions to Liberia; but the war was no sooner over than the flood tide commenced; and, now, the means of the Society, accumulated in the interval, have been exhausted in the transportation of emigrants; and still they come, still ask for aid, and, in greater numbers than ever, make the wants of the Society greater than they have been at any time since its organization in 1816. With no reason, then, for discouragement; of one thing this audience may be assured—no discouragement exists.

The remarks of the speakers that have preceded me suggest that I should state here, what has often been told before on these occasions, the object of the American Colonization Society. Why has it existed for so many years? Why has it included in its active membership the leading spirits of the North and South, the East and West, among whom none was more honored, none did more service, than the kinsman of the Senator from New Jersey, who has addressed us this evening? I mean the late Theodore Frelinghuysen. Why has the Society survived the war? Why does it still boast a constituency irrespective of the sectional divisions of our country? The reason is a plain one. It has never mixed with its deliberations the question of slavery. It has existed only to remove those who desired to better their condition by emigration to Africa. It has attempted no proselytism in America. It has aimed but at the prosperity of Liberia. If its advice was asked about emigration, it said to the applicant, "if you can be satisfied where you are, remain here; if you are dissatisfied, you will find aid in removing at our hands. Your residence here is due to no act of your own. You and your ancestors have served us and our ancestors faithfully. You have aided in the development of our common country. No one has a right to force you to remove. Stay where you are, then, if you can be happy where you are. This Society exists only to help you to remove, when your own convictions shall be in favor of removal."

There are those who believe that the white man and the negro will ultimately establish here such relations as shall enable them to live in happiness together. If so, well. Colonizationists will be the last to interfere with such a state of things, or to regret, should such expectations be realized. In

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that event, Liberia's blessings will be confined to Africa, whose great missionary station, for civilization and the Gospel, she will then be, and not a dollar will have been spent in building up the negro Republic that will not bring a rich return.

But it is due to frankness to say, that this has not been the expectation, generally, of colonizationists. They have anticipated the time when the negro and the white man must part company; when the two families of the same race, as they are called by the Senator from New Jersey in his remarks this evening, or, as others style them, the two races, must separate; and when the negro must be the one to seek another home. The fault of American politicians, of American statesmen, of Americanism indeed, is, that the legislation and action of to-day are most commonly for to-day only. It is not recollected that the population of the year 1900 is to be one hundred million; and that, at the present rate of increase, the population of 1950 will be about two hundred million. This is no mere speculation. The past decades prove it. The teaching of seven census cannot be ignored. With this population the negro will have to contend on very different terms from those which might influence him to-day, with a population of, say forty million. Colonizationists have looked forward to these times. They have sought to provide for them. Liberia is the means they have prepared to meet what they think it is not improbable may be the fearful exigencies of the future. They have anticipated an emigration to Liberia as active as the emigration from Ireland to America. They have believed that a homogenous population of white men will one day prevail in America. Should the coming days prove them to have been right in these anticipations, what evils will they not have averted? To what thanks and blessings will they not, then, be acknowledged by all men to be entitled?

Still, this great question is one that the negro must solve for himself; and now, as in the past, to him colonizationists leave the solution of it *exclusively*. On this point, they must never be misunderstood; and to prevent even the shadow of misunderstanding, the Chair, on behalf of the Society, has deemed it proper to explain once more the principles of the cause which the Society exists to promote, and its action practically in regard to it.

What is wanting now is aid—active aid; not the gathering of a crowd to listen to such oratory as has fascinated us this evening only, but the aid which comes from the purse, as well as from the heart and the voices, of the listeners. Two thousand would-be emigrants are asking the means of emigration. Will you give it to them?

THE CAUSE IN NEW YORK.

[It is gratifying to witness such evidences of life and hope as animate our friends in New York. They are resolved to respond, as early and generously as possible, to the numerous applications of colored people for the aid necessary to their transfer to Liberia.]

On the evening of March 3, 1868, a meeting of gentlemen was held at the Lecture Room of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, corner of Twenty-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue, in the city of New York, in pursuance of a call, of which the following is a copy:

"The subscribers, believing that the time has arrived when efforts should be resumed to aid the colonization of the people of color who desire to remove to the Republic of Liberia, request your attendance at a meeting for consultation upon the subject, to be held in the Lecture Room of the Collegiate Reformed Dutch Church, Fifth Avenue, corner of Twenty-ninth Street, on Tuesday, March 3, 1868, at 7½ o'clock, P. M.

THOMAS DE WITT,
HAMILTON FISH,
ALEX. H. VINTON,
WM. C. ALEXANDER,
WM. G. T. SHEDD,
HIRAM KETCHUM,
WM. E. DODGE,
D. S. GREGORY,
BENJ. I. HAIGHT,
WILLIAM TRACY,
ROSWELL D. HITCHCOCK,
S. D. ALEXANDER,
J. FISHER SHEAFE,
DAVID TERRY,
HENRY FISHER,

GARDINER SPRING,
STEPHEN H. TYNG,
WM. J. R. TAYLOR,
J. P. DURBIN,
JOHN C. SMITH,
M. S. HUTTON,
MOSES ALLEN,
S. IRENIUS PRIME,
JAMES W. BECKMAN,
SAMUEL D. DENISON,
CALEB SWAN,
J. R. KENDRICK,
G. P. DISOSWAY,
CYRUS D. FOSS,
JOSEPH HOLDICH,

DAVID B. COE."

Rev. Dr. Benjamin I. Haight was called to the chair, and Rev. Dr. S. D. Alexander appointed Secretary.

After hearing statements of the operations of the American and New York State Colonization Societies, and the calls upon the friends of the colored race for aid to assist emigrants desirous to remove to Liberia, and the inability of the Societies to furnish adequate means, the meeting resolved that the New York State Colonization Society be advised to renew its operations, and adopted for circulation the following address:

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TO THE FRIENDS OF THE NEGRO RACE.

Your attention is requested to the following facts: The colonization of free people of color, with their own consent, in Africa, had, prior to the commencement of the civil war, been prosecuted by the American Colonization Society and its Auxiliaries for more than forty years. Many friends of the negro race had been opposed to it from doubts as to the propriety of encouraging the emigration of our colored population, and as to the success of attempts to establish a Christian State in Africa. But until the commencement of the civil war, there were constant applications to the Society from persons desirous to remove to Liberia for aid to enable them to go, and the contributions received were found sufficient, in all cases, to furnish it. The colonies planted by different Societies had formed a union and become an independent Republic, with a population consisting of some twelve thousand emigrants and their descendants, and exercising jurisdiction over a territory extending about six hundred miles along the coast, inhabited by several hundred thousand natives. This Republic is now recognized by all the leading nations of Europe, and the United States are represented at its Government by a diplomatic agent.

During the civil war the various questions and speculations touching the condition and prospects of our colored population, in a great measure diverted their minds from a consideration of the inducements to emigrate, and caused almost a total suspension of application for assistance to remove to Liberia. The New York State Colonization Society, in view of the fact, discharged its agents and ceased soliciting donations, except such as were to aid in educational purposes. The contributions of a few friends, who were acquainted with and approved the views of the Managers, defrayed its current expenses. In the meantime it administered the trust funds committed to it in materially promoting education in the Republic. A Professor in the College of Liberia and some five and twenty pupils in that Institution have been sustained, and it has means to continue this support. None of these means, however, can be diverted from these educational purposes.

Since the termination of the civil war, a new movement has taken place in the minds of our colored population. In several localities in the former slave States numbers are again looking to Liberia with the double purpose of improving their own condition and aiding in the spread of civilization and Christianity among the native tribes of Africa. With the ceasing of slavery the negro no longer regards the colonization enterprise as standing between his race and freedom. The inducements to emigrate to Liberia are divorced from any apprehen-

sion that a hidden scheme of mischief lies at the bottom of the colonization plan. The first indications of this change appeared in the autumn of 1865, when one hundred and seventy-two freedmen in the vicinity of Lynchburg, Virginia, asked the assistance of the American Colonization Society, and by it were enabled to become citizens of Liberia. Since then, similar movements have originated in Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee. Several companies have been sent to Liberia within two years, comprising one thousand two hundred and fifty-four emigrants. In each case the movement was not the result of any agency on the part of the Colonization Societies, but spontaneous, the result of a growing belief among people of color that Liberia furnishes a more desirable home for them than America. This belief is becoming more common every day. There are now about three thousand applications before the Society for aid to remove to Liberia, and new ones are coming forward continually. A glance at Liberia warrants the conclusion that the applicants are not judging unwisely.

After a colonial probation of a quarter of a century, it became an independent Republic twenty years ago. It has ever since maintained a stable, just, and well-ordered government over all the tribes within its territories. It has extirpated slavery and the slave trade from its six hundred miles of coast, which in the early part of the century was the favorite haunt of the slave dealer. Its citizens are producers of coffee, sugar, and cotton, to a considerable extent, and have built up a commerce with Europe and this country amounting to about two million dollars per annum. It has common schools, and a College with facilities for classical and scientific instruction of equal grade with many American colleges. It has churches of various Protestant denominations in its settlements, and it is communicating civilizing and Christian influences to the aboriginal tribes within its borders. A productive soil, and a climate healthful and genial to the negro, although fatal to the white man, mark it out as the country of the black man.

Under these circumstances the friends of the cause believe the New York State Colonization Society warranted in a renewal of efforts to obtain funds to aid emigration. The present demand requires all the means that can be obtained. The American Colonization Society has nearly exhausted all the funds within its control, and must refuse applications from persons desiring to emigrate, unless liberal contributions are made. The Republic needs emigrants to strengthen it. It offers a rich reward to those who may become its citizens—the true home of the black man. It has already proved itself a blessing to the African race; has demonstrated, if demonstra-

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tion were necessary, that the negro is capable of elevation, and of becoming a statesman, a scholar, and an apostle of Christianity. It is believed that what it has already done is but an earnest of the large things it will hereafter do.

We desire to expel no black man from America. If he choose to remain, we would throw no obstacle in the way to his advancement. But we confidently believe that by the agency of Christian States, to be planted by negroes, the whole continent of Africa is to be redeemed from barbarism, and its sons and daughters to become the intelligent and educated freemen of the Lord. We, therefore, desire to furnish aid to all whose inclinations, or whose views of Christian duty to their children or their barbarian brethren, lead them to emigrate, but who are unable to bear the expense—the means to go.

BENJAMIN I. HAIGHT,
Chairman.

S. D. ALEXANDER, *Secretary.*

NEW YORK, March 3, 1868.

The Office of the New York State Colonization Society is Room No. 22, Bible House, in the city of New York. Contributions may be sent, addressed to "CALEB SWAN, Esq., Treasurer," or to the subscriber.

G. D. DISOSWAY, *Secretary.*

[To meet the obligations which Providence has manifestly cast upon the AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY, it has been found needful to issue the following Appeal, a copy of which has been sent, among others, to the Ministers who are in the receipt of the "Repository." If these and the Life Members and friends of the Society, and the subscribers to the "Repository," a large number of whom have not for years contributed to our treasury, would each give or secure and remit an average of five dollars, it would greatly aid in meeting the pressing demands upon us. We are sure that our Appeal will not be in vain to those who deliberately measure the work and wants of our Institution:]

TWO THOUSAND FREEDMEN

Are pleading for the means of emigrating to the land from which their ancestors were brought by violence and fraud to be slaves of strangers. Their applications for an early passage, with the names of such as are heads of families, and of many

others, are now before the American Colonization Society. The Society has done nothing to procure these applications. The freedmen themselves have made them, self-moved, because, after satisfactory inquiry and deliberate consideration, they prefer that country to this as a permanent home for themselves and their posterity. They know, by correspondence with relatives and friends who have preceded them, and by other means, that there is the Republic of Liberia, of which only persons of African descent are citizens; well and peacefully governed, for twenty years past, by elected rulers of their own race; acknowledged as a free, sovereign, and independent nation by all the leading Powers of Europe and America, and having treaties of peace, amity, and commerce with many of them; with a prolific soil, and a climate pleasant and salubrious to persons of African descent, native or acclimated; with its churches, schools, and College, its ablest men having been educated there; and with fertile land enough for their support awaiting their gratuitous acceptance on their arrival.*

This current of emigration commenced almost immediately on the termination of the civil war, and has been gaining strength and extent as time has given the freedmen opportunity to collect information and consider it. Powerful influences have been constantly employed to arrest it by those who wish to avail themselves of their presence in this country; yet the desire spreads and increases to go to the land whence their fathers were brought to serve white men; the land where they can live and develop all their faculties, and educate their children, free from the overshadowing presence of a more numerous, more wealthy, and more highly educated race.

An unusual proportion of these applicants are persons of established Christian character, who hope, while improving their own condition and that of their posterity, to promote Christianity and civilization in the land of their ancestors. For this work they are better fitted, by their physical organization and consanguinity with the natives, than men of any other race can be, and better fitted, morally and intellectually, than any other class of men of their own race now are or ever have been. And the experience of centuries has shown that there is little hope of doing this work at all except by colonizing Africa with civilized Christian men of African descent.

* Liberia has an extent of 520 miles along the sea-coast, by about 45 on an average, inland, comprising, therefore, some 23,400 square miles, or 14,976,000 acres, enough to give farms of 25 acres each to 599,040 families, which, at five each, would contain 2,995,200 individuals. For more than forty years past ten acres have proved sufficient to support such a family, and enable it to buy more land.

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For proof that these applicants are considerably and understandingly in earnest, we give their own words:

AIKEN, S. C., *December 17, 1867.*

DEAR SIR: I write to inform you that I have received about one hundred and seventy-five names wishing passage to Liberia, without fail, on the first voyage of the ship. These are from Edgefield District. They are sorry that they could not go on the last trip. They are very anxious to learn if they can have passage. The people wish they could start for Liberia to-morrow, as they are all out of employment, and don't want to contract; for if they do they will not be able to go this trip.

Yours, respectfully,

CHARLES D. HAYNE.

EUFULA, ALA., *December 25, 1867.*

We, the undersigned, colored people, take this method to inform you that we would like to embark in May, 1868, for Liberia, if we can be accommodated. We request that you furnish us with free transportation from this place to Liberia. We are all poor, and have not any money.

A. E. WILLIAMS,
and two hundred others, with their families.

COLUMBUS, GA., *January 7, 1868.*

DEAR SIR: You will see that I have received and now forward to you four hundred and twenty names, and, as near as I can come at it, there will be about three hundred more who desire to go to Liberia in May, 1868. I wish that you would write me how many more names I may be privileged to enrol from our city. There are a great many of our good people who are saying that they are going to Africa, but they are waiting to hear from the company who went from here last fall. But, if these have not soul enough in them to believe without seeing, why they must do like I have done—stay in the United States until they get sick of their condition, and then they will want to get away faster than the means can be provided. For myself, I had much rather go honorably and from pure principles, and a sense of duty to myself and fellow-man, and I might say to God, than to go only when I found it expedient to do so.

Mr. Willis Fort, of Eufaula, Ala., has been to see me, and I am very much interested in him and his company, which numbers one hundred exactly. He desires to join his party with ours. He represents them to be good people. If the whole number cannot procure passage now, he must go if there is a possible chance, as he is a very useful man and master mechanic. He can make almost anything, from a saw-mill up to a steamboat. There are some splendid workmen in his company. All are anxious to leave in May, and, furthermore, are camping out in tents until the time comes to embark for Liberia.

I remain, yours truly,

PHILIP L. MONROE.

NASHVILLE, TENN., *January 7, 1868.*

DEAR SIR: The enclosed list of names of colored people desiring to go to Liberia in May is sent by their request. They are poor, but are as reliable as any of the Freedmen. Colonization is not popular among them here, and only the more thinking ones will go; which is the best for the present. I think there will be a rush after a while. Yours truly,

(Rev.) O. O. KNIGHT.

COLUMBUS, MISS., *January 7, 1868.*

DEAR SIR: We had a meeting here on the 6th instant, and all present said they would go to Liberia. We have called a meeting, on the 19th instant, of the colored people of Lowndes County, so we can take the names of all those who want to go. Please to answer this letter, so as it can be submitted at that time, as we want to know when and where we are to take ship, and how we are to get to the ship. It is said this is a white-man Government. If so, we are willing to leave it to him, and seek a government of our own. In the name of the Lord, make known to me how many you can take on a voyage, as there seems to be many who wish to sail as soon as possible.

Yours, respectfully,

(Rev.) H. RYAN.

HALIFAX, N. C., *January 9, 1868.*

DEAR SIR: I have seen all the people, and they have pledged themselves that nothing shall stop them from going but sickness or death. They are making every effort to get ready in season to go to the land of the free and the home of the black man. I have in my party, as will be seen by my list of one hundred and fifty one names, which I send you, railroad-men and engineers, and men that worked in car-shops. I am so afraid that you will not take me next spring that I cannot sleep much.

Please take us, is the request of your humble servant,

CHARLES SNYDER.

HILTON HEAD, S. C., *January 16, 1868.*

DEAR SIR: Miss Mary De Lyon, first cousin to Dr. Samuel De Lyon, and to Mrs. Dr. Roberts, of Liberia, is a young woman of superior intelligence, who has been residing at Hilton Head since the fall of Savannah, which effected her emancipation. She deserves a better fate, and desires to take the highest step in life attainable. I have promised her that I would obtain for her a free passage on the next voyage of the Golconda to Liberia, whither she wishes to go and join her relatives. Will you be so kind as to send her, through me, the assurance of such a passage out and the time and place of sailing? I believe that her going will be but the precursor of many more leaving the South for Africa, my beloved fatherland, who ought to leave for their own good and that of posterity. Most sincerely,

M. R. DELANY.

MARION, GEORGIA, *February 3, 1868.*

DEAR SIR: We are all anxious to go to Liberia in May, and forty are leading camp-life so as to be ready to start at any time. Please do all that you can for us. We will be ruined if you cannot take us.

Yours, truly,

SEABORN ASHLEY.

Shall the desire of these men be granted? If so, the Society must receive pecuniary aid to a liberal amount, and without delay. Its reserved funds, accumulated while the war suspended emigration, are nearly exhausted. Not enough remains to send out our ship another voyage with a full complement of emigrants. The applicants cannot pay the expense of their own emigration. While slaves, they had only their living for their labor; and as freemen, they have been barely able to procure the necessities of life for themselves and their families. If they can provide themselves with the smallest outfits that

prudence would allow, it is all that can be expected of them. They must have help to emigrate, or remain in their present condition, which they regard as eminently disadvantageous, and from which they desire to escape.

We solicit, therefore, the prompt and liberal assistance of all who think that these applicants should be enabled to reach the country which they have deliberately chosen as their home and that of their posterity. From those who would keep them here against their will, because white men need their labor, we expect nothing. But from those who fully recognize their rights as freemen, including the right of choosing the country of which they will be citizens, we expect such aid as God has put it in their power to render. There are those among them who should give their thousands, and tens of thousands, and there is a special call for them to do it soon. But the smallest donations will aid in proportion to their amount.

Donations may be remitted to Rev. WILLIAM McLAIN, D. D., Financial Secretary of the American Colonization Society, Washington, D. C.

HARVEY LINDSLY,
JOSEPH H. BRADLEY,
WILLIAM GUNTON,
GEORGE W. SAMSON,

PETER PARKER,
SAMUEL H. HUNTINGTON,
JOHN B. KERR,
Executive Committee.
WILLIAM McLAIN,
Financial Secretary.
WILLIAM COPPINGER,
Corresponding Secretary.

OUR SPRING EXPEDITION.

The packet Golconda will sail from Baltimore on Wednesday, April 15, and from Savannah, on Saturday, May 2, for Liberia. About six hundred and fifty of the best and most industrious of the colored people of the South, who ask the Society to send them to the land of their fathers, have been promised passage and settlement, and are expected to embark on her.

Letters for Liberia will be forwarded, if received at this Office in season, accompanied by ten cents for postage, as required by the laws of the United States.

INTELLIGENCE FROM LIBERIA.

By the ship Golconda, which left Monrovia January 26th, and arrived at Baltimore March 10th, and the West African mail steamer to Liverpool, intelligence has reached this office from Liberia to the middle of February.

The Legislature had adjourned after a laborious session, and a new administration had commenced. Hon. Joseph T. Gibson, of Cape Palmas, had been declared elected by the people, at the vote in May, as Vice President; and Hon. C. L. Parsons, of Sinoe, had been confirmed as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court. President Payne had appointed, as the members of his Cabinet, Hon. John N. Lewis, Secretary of State; Mr. Daniel J. Beams, Secretary of the Treasury, and William M. Davis, Esq., Attorney General.

Rev. R. R. Gurley and son, Mr. John McD. Gurley, returned on the Golconda in improved health, and gratified with the condition and prospects of Liberia.

The emigrants from Columbus, Georgia, had settled at Edina, Buchanan, and Bexley, in Bassa County, and, it is stated, "are delighted with the country, and say that they have come to the 'promised land.'"

Rev. Fleming Crump, leader of the company of emigrants from Dover, Tenn., wrote as follows:

"GRAND CAPE MOUNT, LIBERIA, January 21, 1868.

"Dear Sir: I have arrived at Grand Cape Mount, and am very much pleased with the country. I will write to you when I get better settled, and let you know how I am getting along. We are all well and in good spirits, and very much pleased."

HON. JOSEPH R. INGERSOLL.

It becomes our duty to record the death, at Philadelphia, February 20, of the Hon. Joseph Reed Ingersoll, an earnest friend of the African race, and, for the last fifteen years, a Vice President of the American Colonization Society. His long life has been an honor to the country; and his character, as a consistent follower of the Redeemer, was universally associated with his public reputation.

FEMALE EDUCATION IN LIBERIA COLLEGE.

At a meeting of the Trustees of the College of Liberia, held at Monrovia on the 14th of January last, it was resolved that, with the concurrence of the Trustees of Donations at Boston, female students may be admitted into the College under such regulations as may, from time to time, be adopted for their

government and instruction. The measure was recommended at the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society, in 1866, and has been under consideration since then. In view of the fact that, at present, there is no female school of high grade in the Republic, it is deemed a measure of great promise. The experiment of admitting females to college instruction is not an untried one in this country. There are several colleges, and a large number of State normal schools, where males and females are taught in the same classes without any practical difficulty.

THE ARABIC LANGUAGE IN LIBERIA.

[Extract from a letter from Professor Blyden, of Liberia College.]

MONROVIA, January 23, 1868.

"I have sent Mr. Schieffelin a plan of the temple of Mecca, with a description, in Arabic, drawn by a learned Mandingo priest just from the interior, whom I met at Vansua, (a native town, five miles north of the St. Paul's river,) during a second visit I made there about the 16th inst.

I am more and more convinced of the importance of the cultivation of the Arabic language in Liberia. Futah, the city where the priest I met was educated, is one of the principal towns in the Mohammedan kingdom, embracing the broad belt of territory west of Lake Tchad. Park, Caillee, and the Landers, hastily passed through the northern part of this territory on their way to the Niger. In this country there are learning and letters—every body can, at least, read the Arabic.

The people of the Futah country are without doubt a superior race, and are easily accessible to us. The Arabic language must be the medium of communicating sound Christian knowledge to them. This language will also be the means of improving some of the vernaculars, the Mandingo for instance, which already contains a good many Arabic words, so as to render them competent to convey European science and literature to the great mass of pagans; while the Arabic, possessing a rich literature of its own, will always be the standard and common medium of communication for all. I look forward to these results with deep and peculiar interest, and, if I could, I would supply the place of Latin as a means of mental discipline in the College, by Arabic, as having a more direct and practical bearing upon our work here."

ORIGIN OF AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

To the Editors of the African Repository:

I have read Dr. Tracy's Historical Discourse before the Colonization Society at their Anniversary in January, 1867, and I wish to add a note about the origin of colonization in Africa.

In the year 1779, a society of persons who were admirers of the writings of Emanuel Swedenbourg, met at Norkjoping, in Sweden, in consequence of reflecting on the favorable accounts given by Swedenbourg of the Africans, as seen in the spiritual world, as contained in his work called "Continuation of the Last Judgment." It will seem quite absurd to some that men should have been so actuated. That was the incentive, and being ignorant then, as all the world was, that the black races in Africa were as numerous and distinct as the white races are known to be, they were led to act on the belief, for a time, that the Africans of the Coast—the general subjects of negro slavery—were all capable of receiving the doctrines which they themselves had received.

The principal object of the conference was to devise a plan for forming a settlement among the nations in Africa, which might serve as a basis for a new and free community. Charles Berns Wadstrom was present at the meeting, and he states that the more the subject came to be considered the more they were persuaded that the Coasts of Africa would scarcely admit of being peopled by a body of true and earnest Christians, unless the slave-trade, so firmly rooted and the only object of commerce in those regions, could be abolished.

Mr. U. Nordenskjold, a Swedish traveller, and one of the persons present, afterwards published a plan for the colony, in which he designated Sierra Leone as the place for it; and this was before it was adopted by the English.

In 1787, Dr. Sparrman and Wadstrom proceeded on a voyage to Africa, and in this examination Wadstrom designated Cape Mesurado as the fittest place for a colony. His zeal for that enterprise is shown by his publishing an Essay on Colonization in 1794, which makes a quarto volume of nearly 600 pages.

Mere missionary enterprises had existence long before, and chiefly by the Portuguese; but the notion of a colony in Africa, for improving the natives and rooting out the slave trade, was purely Swedish, and all of this was before the charter granted to the Sierra Leone Company, which was in 1796. Yours,

JOHN H. JAMES.

URBANA, OHIO, *March 2, 1868.*

HON. NORMAN WILLIAMS.—We regret to hear that another of the active friends of our cause, Hon. Norman Williams, of Woodstock, Vermont, died on Sabbath, January 12; a good man and true, widely known and greatly respected, whose loss will be deeply felt by every worthy cause.

ITEMS OF INTELLIGENCE.

REV. CHARLES A. PITMAN is a member of the Liberia Methodist Conference. His present field is among the Veys, a people among whom he was born. While yet a child he was taken into Mrs. Wilkins' school, where he experienced the new birth. Charles subsequently spent some time in America attending the public schools. Returning again to his native country, he engaged in school teaching; but, yielding to a persuasion he had from the time of his conversion, he entered the ministry; and now, by late advices, we learn he is a member of the Legislature of the Republic of Liberia.

LOVE OF COUNTRY.—Among the passengers on the *Moro Castle*, which arrived lately at New York, were three colored men. Their story is a curious one. When but of tender years, they were brought from Africa and sold as slaves in Cuba. Thirty years of dreary and apparently interminable drudgery had been their lot, when they suddenly came in possession of \$30,000. They at once purchased their freedom; and, impelled by an irresistible longing to return to their home, took passage to New York, and started for Africa, via Liverpool, in the English mail steamer.

THE LIBERIA EPISCOPAL MISSION calls for a larger appropriation of funds. Mr. Ware and Miss Savery have been added, and Bishop and Mrs. Payne and the Rev. Mr. Auer have returned to the mission. From many years constant use the mission buildings, churches, and school-houses, are greatly in need of repairs. New churches are needed in promising fields. The Rev. Mr. Wilcox, a most faithful missionary, has been laboring under great disadvantage at Bassa for the want of a church. His people, though poor, pledge the lot and one thousand dollars. Three thousand in addition will give them a neat and comfortable church in that important metropolis of Liberia. Although the number of white missionaries is small, yet there is a large force of native missionaries, teachers, and catechists, who are also doing a noble work. It is desired that their number shall be increased many fold, and to this end the Training School, under the charge of Mr. Auer, is to be provided for. This enterprise, so warmly commended by all, is as yet only upon paper, except that Mr. Auer has gone to make a beginning as best he can. It will cost \$10,000 to establish this institution upon the plan proposed.

WEST AFRICAN MAILS.—The mail steamer *Calabar*, Capt. Corbett, arrived at Liverpool on the 3d January, with the mails from the West Coast of Africa, and a large cargo, including 3,233 ounces of gold. On the Gold Coast trade was brisk. The health of the Coast during the month previous to the *Calabar's* sailing had been excellent, not a single case of sickness being reported. The *Athenian*, with the bi-monthly mail, from the West Coast of Africa, arrived at Liverpool on the 16th January. At Cameroons and Fernando Po trade was healthy.

EXPORT OF GUM.—1,663,000 kilogrammes, or 1,663 tons, of gum were received from the river Senegal, St. Louis, during the first seven months of the past year. This exceeds all former quantity in a similar period.

Receipts of the American Colonization Society,

From the 20th of February, to the 20th of March, 1868.

MAINE.		J. D. WILSON, a Life Member; "A Poor Woman," \$1.....	
<i>Minot</i> —James E. Washburn	\$50 00		\$31 00
<i>Fryebury</i> —Isalah Warren.....	10 00		
<i>Waterville</i> —S. Appleton, \$7; Pro- fessor G. W. Keely, \$5	12 00	NEW JERSEY.	426 00
<i>Augusta</i> —John Dorr, \$5; Daniel Williams, \$2	7 00	<i>Bridgeton</i> —L. Q. C. Elmer.....	50 00
<i>Auburn</i> —Nahum Morrill.....	5 00	<i>Jersey City</i> —Rev. Wm. R. Duryee	20 00
<i>Bangor</i> —A Friend	3 00	<i>Garden</i> —Geo. H. Van Gelder....	10 00
			80 00
NEW HAMPSHIRE.		PENNSYLVANIA.	
	87 00	<i>Brownville</i> —Legacy of Mrs. M. Bowman, \$600, less collateral inheritance, tax \$28 35, and U. S. tax \$28 57	447 58
<i>Meriden</i> —Con. Church, Rev. A. Wood, pastor.....	21 50	<i>Philadelphia</i> —John T. Lewis.....	100 00
<i>Plainfield</i> —J. K. Johnson, by Rev. J. Scales	10 00	<i>Pittsburg</i> —W. H. Lowrie.....	25 00
		<i>Carlisle</i> —James Hamilton.....	20 00
VERMONT.		<i>Eaton</i> —Rev. L. Coleman, D. D.....	5 00
<i>Weatherfield</i> —Mrs. S. Bowen....	3 00		
<i>Hartland</i> —Dea. E. Bates, by Rev. Franklin Butler.....	2 00	DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.	
		<i>Washington</i> —Miscellaneous.....	285 84
MASSACHUSETTS.			
<i>Granby</i> —Legacy of Benoni Pres- ton, by Rt. Rev. M. Eastburn, D. D., executor.....	204 00	VIRGINIA.	
<i>Newburyport</i> —Micajah Lunt.....	100 00	<i>Theological Seminary</i> —Rt. Rev. J. Johns, D. D.....	25 00
<i>West Medbury</i> —Mrs. C. Slocomb. Wrentham—Miss Julia Hewes	15 00	<i>Lynchburg</i> —From a Friend of the Cause of Colonization in Africa	5 00
<i>Haverhill, East Parish</i> —Rev. M. Kimball.....	5 00		
<i>Centerville</i> —Rev. G. H. Moore....	1 00	TENNESSEE.	
		<i>Maury County</i> —Legacy of W. E. Kennedy, by J. W. S. and J. B. Frierson, executors.....	1,000 00
RHODE ISLAND.			
By Rev. J. R. Miller, (\$1.)	335 00	OHIO.	
<i>Warren</i> —S. F. Child.....	1 00	<i>Dayton</i> —Legacy of T. Parrott, additional, by E. A. Parrott, executor	100 00
CONNECTICUT.			
<i>New Haven</i> —Richard C. Morse, \$20; Henry White, \$10.....	30 00	ILLINOIS.	
<i>Lebanon</i> —Eleazer Huntington..	5 00	<i>Lewistown</i> —Myron Phelps	100 00
By Rev. J. R. Miller, (\$117 80.) ..		<i>Upper Alton</i> —Rev. W. Leverett, Prof. Warren Leverett, each \$10, toward a Life Membership	20 00
<i>Norwich</i> —J. L. Hubbard, \$25; Hon. J. Halsey, \$5.....	30 00		
<i>New London</i> —Rev. Dr. Hallam. <i>Mystic</i> —J. O. Cottrell, C. H. Den- ison, Geo. Greenman, \$2; James Gallup, Palmer Gallup, John Gallup, A. C. Tift, each \$1; Cash, \$1 25	5 00	ENGLAND.	
<i>Clinton</i> —H. A. Elliot, \$2; Geo. E. Elliot, \$1	8 00	<i>Leves</i> —John Hodgkin, Ann. Sub. for 1868.....	10 00
<i>Old Lyme</i> —Mrs. R. S. Griswold, \$5; H. S. Sill, \$2; Cash 55 cents. <i>Middletown</i> —Mrs. W. Hunting- ton, \$25; Mrs. S. Russell, Miss C. P. Alsop, each \$10; Mrs. S. L. Whittlessey, \$5; Dr. C. Wood- ward, \$2; Mrs. J. Barnes, Miss E. A. Sheldon, T. C. Canfield, C. M. Bacon, each \$1	7 55		
		FOR REPOSITORY.	
NEW YORK.		MAINE.— <i>Waterville</i> —S. Apple- ton, to July 1, 1870.....	3 00
<i>New York City</i> —John P. Crosby. Yapbank—W. P. Smith	152 80	NEW HAMPSHIRE.— <i>Bedford</i> —S. McQuestion, to Jan. 1, 1868.....	8 00
By Rev. Dr. Orcutt, (\$331.)	20 00	VERMONT.— <i>Woodstock</i> —Lyndon A. Marsh, for 1868.....	1 00
<i>New York City</i> —James Suydam, Henry Young, each \$100; Mrs. F. F. Chrystie, Guy Richards, each \$50; Edwin Wygant \$30, to constitute his Pastor, Rev.		MASSACHUSETTS.— <i>Framingham</i> — Miss Mary A. Hastings, for 1868	1 00
		MISSISSIPPI.— <i>Oxford</i> —Rev. F. Patton, for 1868	1 00
		OHIO.— <i>Cedarville</i> —Mrs. Martha Dallas, to April 1, 1863, by H. H. McMillan.....	1 00
		INDIANA.— <i>Rockville</i> —Rev. W. Y. Allen, for 1868.....	1 00
		WISCONSIN.— <i>Janesville</i> —Wm. D. Hastings, for 1868, by Miss M. A. Hastings.....	1 00
		Repository.....	17 00
		Legacies.....	1,751 88
		Donations.....	1,235 30
		Miscellaneous.....	285 84
		Total.....	\$3,279 72

MAY 12 1868